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ABSTRACT

Internal colonialism, the domination of one region over another, provides a necessary but insufficient base for the development of ethnic nationalist movements. Only since World War II have the possibilities for economic expansion been so great as to permit the economic development of former reserve areas in the major industrialized, Western nations. In the course of this industrialization, regional populations have begun to emerge as distinct nationalities. Two examples of this process are the development of Quebecois nationalism in Canada and the civil rights movement in the Southern United States. These ethnic nationalist movements have expressed a variety of objectives that appear to vary from group to group depending on the conformity or contradiction of state policy with the interests of each nationality. However, as long as these regions constitute separate labor markets with lower pay scales, no amount of state accommodation to the goals of these groups can eliminate the real potential for the further development of ethnic-nationalism in the Western industrial nations. Anthropologists can play a major theoretical role in detailing the source and dynamics of national movements in the industrial West and thereby participate in the discussion on resolving national inequalities. (IS)

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MARKETS, MODERNIZATION, AND MINORITY MOVEMENTS IN THE INDUSTRIAL WEST

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INTRODUCTION

"Ethnicity" is a relatively new topic of investigation in anthropology; in fact, a glance through compendia of traditional anthropological work (e.g., Kroeber 1953) will turn up no mention of the subject. The same is true of Harris' (1968) history of anthropological theory: again, no mention of ethnicity. It was not until Barth (1969) published the papers from a Wenner-Gren symposium that systematic discussion of ethnicity really began within anthropology.

But while ethnicity as such was previously not much studied, and now is, "nationality" studies were once more commonly conducted within anthropology, and now generally are not.

Actually, it was Margaret Mead who was pre-eminent among anthropologists in the investigation of national culture and national character, and what little mention is made of these subjects today (e.g., Wallace 1970: 149-152, 159-163) is still basically limited to questions of personality. This tendency became entrenched in nationality studies due to the "exigencies of the post-1939 world political situation" (Mead 1953: 642) when anthropologists became intellectual draftees in the war-time and cold war ideological struggle among the nations of Europe and North America.1

The growth of this field at the time led Redfield (1953: 737) to project that national studies--the study of national peoples "as wholes"--would become a topic to which cultural anthropology would make an increasing contribution. So whatever happened to the anthropological study of Western nations as social communities?

FROM NATIONALITY TO ETHNICITY STUDIES

In retrospect it can be seen that the declining interest in nationality studies was conditioned by an historic shift in the world focus of national development itself. Up to the late 1800s, social development in Europe and North America took the general form of nation-building. The subsequent period to World War Two was characterized by intense economic competition and political confrontation among these nations, with control of their various colonial systems being a central issue of dispute. After World War Two the general decolonization process--implemented in the West to end market restrictions on national capital and so eliminate the bones of contention which had been at the center of two world wars--shifted the focus of the national development process to Asia (especially in the 1940s and 1950s) and Africa (in the 1960s and 1970s).2

Correspondingly, the research activity of social scientists in the post-war period also changed. The war-time and cold war objective of conducting national character studies for propaganda, morale-boosting, and occupation government purposes gave way to studies of nation-building processes in the former colonial world. Especially problematic for both Western and Eastern powers was how to encourage the orientation of these new nations and their national markets toward either capitalism or socialism. National character studies were nat a primary issue since in most former colonies the development of national identity among diverse ethnic groups was still in a formative stage.

Instead a related but new topical interest emerged, that is, the study of ethnicity and how different ethnic components "articulate" (differentiate and interact) in the formation and life of new nations (Barth 1969: 17-18). Such knowledge has been of economic importance in understanding the formation, operation and limitations of these new national markets, and the pragmatic political significance of ethnic analyses to both East and West has been amply demonstrated by the fostering of pro-capitalist and pro-socialist political organizations among different ethnic groups in the struggle for control of the national states in former colonies.

In this general context, ethnicity in the newly emerging countries developed as a major subject for social scientific study (Mair 1963, Kilson 1975, Brass and van den Berghe 1976, Wellesley Editorial Committee 1977) and marked a shift in both the area and topical focus of earlier national studies.

ETHNIC-NATIONALISM IN THE WEST

However in the past two decades there has also been an upsurge in ethnic-nationalism in many of the industrialized countries of Europe and North America; indeed, there is probably a link between the world decolonization process and this new nationalism, for example among the Welsh, Scots, and Northern Irish in the United Kingdom, Quebecois in Canada, Afro-Americans, Chicanos, and Amerindians in the United States, Basques in Spain, and the Flemish and Walloons in Belgium.3 One thing which decolonization and the opening up of new markets stimulated was economic expansion in former reserve areas of these industrial

states (for example, the United States south), and in this process the social and political order in these areas has in every instance been called into question by the ethnic inhabitants themselves.

Thus ethnic-nationalist movements have emerged as an important new social phenomenon in the post-war West. It should be noted that because of the import of such movements for the political futures of the main Western countries, that is, because of the extremely serious implications of inter-ethnic confrontation (Barzanti 1965: 335-336; Helms 1978: 144-145), the study of these movements has taken on an increasing urgency since the 1960s.4

Naturally questions arise about the difference between polyethnic systems and ethnic-nationalist movements in the developed countries and in the former colonies. Barth (1969: 36) suggested the main difference was to be found in the way social integration was achieved. For example, what he observed about the former colonies was this:

1. In the colonial period the arbitrary imposition of regimes encompassing diverse ethnic populations created the conditions for inter-ethnic articulation in mainly the political sphere.

2. As a consequence, articulation among ethnic groups in new nations tends to be sharpest in the competition for access to and control over government jobs and education.

Barth contrasted this with inter-ethnic articulation in traditional (that is, Western) polyethnic societies which occurs

mainly in the economic sector "through occupational differentiation and articulation at the market place" (Barth 1969: 34).

Barth even suggested that these traditional systems of integration might be inherently more stable than those based on political articulation, although recent movements in the West would seem to suggest otherwise. But the contradiction is more apparent than real. Barth's conclusion can be accepted if applied strictly to nations which were historically constituted out of different ethnic groups with tribal roots (for example, Angles and Saxons in England or Franks, Lombards and Goths, etc., in France) and which formed into a nationality through market interaction.

However, what is being witnessed n the Western countries today is not the disintegration of these national communities, but the development of schisms within what have historically been multi-national states. In this regard a distinction must be drawn between citizenship in a state and national identity. The point is that these are not necessarily identical concepts; for example, one ma be a Canadian citizen (one's identification with a particular state) but have a more particular national identity as either Quebecois or English Canadian. It is apparent that such distinctions persist even within the United States, especially between Northerners and Southerners.

NATIONAL MARKETS AND MULTINATIONAL STATES

Major ethnic-nationalist movements in the West can be shown to be based in differences between distinct national markets within multinational states. True, there are infrastructural systems of transport and communication which crisscross England, Scotland and Wales, or connect Quebec and Ontario, and link the United States north and south. But trade and intercourse are no more measures of national homogeneity than lack of trade is an attribute of national differentiation. The pervasive aspects of commodity exchange must not be allowed to obscure perception of the differential operation of markets, that is, national markets, within a state. A state comprised of several distinct national markets is in reality a multinational state.

But how does one tell where one national market ends and another begins? Probably a number of empirical measures could be devised, bur social theory points to one differentiating feature in particular: the labor market.

It should be remembered that nations are an historically developed form of social community as were bands, tribes, city-states and feudal domains. More specifically, nations are a product of the rise of the capitalist mode of production. Capital is itself not so much money or machines as it is a social relationship between people who buy and sell labor power in order to carry on commodity production. The historical tendency was for these multiple social relationships to become differentiated and integrated in the form of separate markets, ultimately meaning separate labor markets. Correponding to the market activity in each distinct territory there emerged unifying

national languages of social intercourse, overarching nation-states and national codes of law, and national forms of consciousness and culture.5

In these terms, the formation of certain European and North American countries (notably the United Kingdom, Canada, and the United States) could actually be best described as processes of multinational state formation. The so-called regional parts of these state systems originally consisted of separately developing markets (for example, the United States north, south and Puerto Rico; Ontario and Quebec; and England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland), each with distinct national attributes. Through civil wars and annexations, political hegemony was in each case extended by one nation over another.6

In most cases, the dominant nation in a multinational state made no pretenses about abolishing market differences between nations if these differences could work to the advantage of capital emanating from the dominant nation (cf. Morton 1974 on the United Kingdom; Peery 1975 on the United States south; and Bourque 1977, Bergeron 1978, Bourque and Dostaler 1980, Jacobs 1980, and Rioux 1980 on Quebec). For capital today, these differences between labor markets are still of great importance, for the periodic development of these reserve areas is of great use in undercutting foreign competitors in the world market. But it is also precisely in relation to state policies designed to exploit and maintain these market differences that ethnic-nationalist movements have developed in the post-war West.

This is not to suggest that these national movements today are in essence reactions against modernization. A number of theories have been founded on this premis, but they have also been effectively critiqued. For example, Fox et al. (1978: 115-118) argued quite convincingly against Eisenstadts's (1964) "modernization breakdown" theory which proposed that ethnic-nationalist movements are a kind of ethnic backlash against too rapid economic change. They also effectively critiqued DeVos' (1975) "ethnic conservatism" theory of reliance on traditional ethnic values and institutions to maintain order in the face of socially disruptive modernization. In fact, nationalists are often modernizers themselves as well as unabashed manipulators of modern socio-political institutions in pursuing their goals.

Hechter (1971, 1975, 1976) was among the first to suggest that it is not modernization per se which is the base issue in ethnic-nationalist movements, but the nature of the relationship between different nationalities in a multi-national state. The objective relation which must obtain for there to be any real prospect for the development of an ethnic-nationalist movement is one of "internal colonialism," that is, an historically established cultural (ethnic) division of labor in the life of the multi-national state.

Fox et al. have tried to critique the internal colonialism theory as well, and conclude that because most ethnic-nationalist movements are occurring under conditions of industrialization, internal colonialism is not a factor. The problem with this critique is that industrialization is wrongly considered to be in

contradiction to colonialism.7 In their view, so-called regional economic inequalities corresponding to ethnic-nationality distributions may have existed in the past, but because of industrialization "wealth" and "privilege" have been extended to these areas as well (Fox et al. 1978: 117). Accordingly, all which remains are residual ideological motifs derived from past conditions of subordination which leaders still make use of in politically mobilizing people (Fox et al. 1978: 116, 119).

Of course, one would be hard pressed to convince today's South African factory worker of this, or even the industrial worker in the southern United States who earns twenty percent less than his northern counterpart (Perlo 1975: 166), or the Quebecois who on a per capita basis earn twenty-five percent less than Ontarians (Fournier 1978: 16).8 The essence of colonialism is not the underdevelopment of industrial life, but the underdevelopment of a national market capable of consuming its raw material or industrial product (Frank 1979: 121-128). The incapacity for such consumption is rooted in the existence of a national labor market with wages well below those in developed countries, that is, countries with developed national markets. The social reflection of this differential is a lower standard of living (in terms of food, clothing, housing, health care, education, etc.).

But Fox et al. do have a point that internal colonialism is in itself of little value in predicting the tides of ethnic-nationalism, otherwise, they ask, why has there been no significant ethnic-nationalist upsurge in Puerto Rico?

Unfortunately they recoil too far in the other direction, dismiss the relevance of objective socio-economic conditions, and restrict themselves to explaining political movements on the basis of political dynamics themselves.

Thus Fox et al. hold that it has been the post World War Two expansion of the authority of centralized "welfare states" into the domains of power-brokering ethnic elites which has elicited elite attempts to resist this encroachment. The resistance is organized by formulating elite objectives as ethnic-nationalist objectives and then by mobilizing the population in their own defense on the basis of ethnicity (Fox et al. 1978:118-121).9

This is a classic description of the substance of nationalist ideology, that is, the representation of particular interests as the general interest (Marx and Engels 1976: 68-69). However, the proposition that ethnic-nationalist movements arise in reaction to welfare state encroachment appears to be no more explanatory than the "modernization breakdown" or ethnic conservatism" theories, else how are cases like Puerto Rico to be explained? The operation of the giant United States "welfare state" has certainly expanded there since World War Two, yet there has been no tremendous upsurge of ethnic-nationalism as has been the obvious case in, for example, Quebec.

ETHNIC-NATIONALISM AND STATE RELATIONS

One inconsistency in the "state encroachment" theory is that it characterizes ethnic-national movements as being necessarily opposed to state policies. This makes superficial sense since it conforms to our definition of ethnic-nationalist movements as occurring within multi-national state systems in which one nation (or at least capital in one nation) dominates the state and other nationalities. However, ethnic-nationalist movements are rarely anti-state in an abstract way. Two conditions which appear to determine the actual relationship between a state and an ethnic-nationalist movement are the aims of the movement's leadership and the state's own cooptive capacities. Little wonder, then, that the nationalist movement which does in fact exist in Puerto Rico (but which is being pointed toward statehood as a solution to nationalist issues by its leadership, and which is a course acceptable to the United States government) does not appear to be (or qualify as) a "state encroachment" type ethnic-nationalist movement.

The fact is that few ethnic-nationalist movements are homogenously anti-state in their orientation, yet are plainly recognized as nationality-type movements. For example, in an internal colonial situation there is almost never any nationalist opposition to state policies which facilitate industrialization: clearly, people view industrialization and the production of wealth as a potential social boon. However, the social production of wealth is one matter and the social distribution of wealth quite another (Brass 1976: 233-235). Thus, in an internal colonial situation, if business policies which facilitate

industrialization are accompanied by state policies which promise to restrict the nationality's share in the economic product, then the conditions exist for a nationalist movement with an anti-state orientation; on the other hand, if state policies hold out any hope for a greater share in the industrial product for the nationality in the internal colonial situation, then the movement for that share will continue but, not on an overtly anti-state basis, and possibly even on a pro-state basis (Brass 1976: 227).

Pro and anti-state attitudes are typically reflected in the variety of objectives which different nationalist movements set themselves. For example, the spectrum of political programs of actual movements covers everything from national integration to regional autonomy to national independence (the respective goals of the southern Civil Rights and Puerto Rican statehood movements, the Basque movement in Spain, and the sovereignty-association movement in Canada). To a great extent Fox et al. are correct that the general objectives of each movement reflect the special class interests of the leadership of each movement, the more separatist programs being espoused by those with the least social connection with external finance.

The state, on the other hand, can attempt to accomodate basic nationalist grievances with reform programs designed to pre-empt separatism and reinforce the leadership of "nationalists" who argue for a future within the multi-national state system. Both these factors play a part in determining the particular character of an ethnic-nationalist movement: the more the state is seen to accomodate basic nationalist demands, the

more the movement leans toward leadership promoting political integration; the more the state appears to hinder the achievement of nationalist interests, that is, the less cooperative (and cooptive) the state, the more likely the movement is to support separatist leadership.

The objective basis for an ethnic-nationalist movement in a multi-national state today is the existence of an internal colonial labor market whose status is called into question by industrialization; the subjective character of the movement depends on the extent of contradiction or conformity between ethnic-nationalist demands and state policies regarding the redistribution of wealth, and the extent to which state policy substantiates the program of integrationist leadership.10 The struggles for linguistic, educational, cultural and political rights are the superstructural areas in which this most basic issue is fought out.

ETHNIC-NATIONALISM IN QUEBEC

This formulation of the essence of ethnic-nationalism in multi-national states in the West also helps clarify how certain pro and anti-state attitudes can persist side by side in an ethnic-nationalist movement: because a nationality perceives contradictions in state policies, their own political sentiments also often appear to be contradictory. However, what remains constant in every political stance is an underlying "what's best for us" attitude, whether it is the state or the nationalist leadership which appears best able to deliver what is demanded.

Perhaps the best example of this political ambivalence is

the modern behavior of the Quebec electorate: under conditions of rapid economic modernization, Quebecers have been sending a pro-federalist body of Liberal Party representatives to the Canadian Parliament (and have maintained the Trudeau government in power since 1969) while simultaneously increasing their vote for and ultimately electing (in 1976) a nationalist Parti Quebecois provincial government having the avowed aim of establishing a politically sovereign Quebec (Levesque 1979).

These dynamics arose from some dramatic transformations in the life of post World War Two Quebec. Foremost among these changes were a massive population shift from rural agricultural, mining and forestry areas to industrializing cities (Jacobs 1980: 10-25), the development of a national bourgeoisie (Bourque and Laurin-Frenette 1972), and the organization of a powerful nationalist political movement (Dixon and Jonas 1978). Correspondingly, a Quebec "national" culture began to flourish (Jacobs 1980: 10-25) and francocizing all realms of Quebec life became a key political theme for both expressing and reinforcing the national identity of Quebecers (Lieberson 1970).

Underlying all this has been the differential operation of the labor market in Quebec. The province is the most populous and one of the richest in resources in the Canadian federation, but nonetheless remains one of the poorest (Todd 1977: 29). For example, Quebec receives a disproportionately large share of federal equalization payments to maintain public services and social programs which the province's own revenues are insufficient to support (Quebec Liberal Party 1980: 12).

This is one policy of the Liberal Party government in Ottawa

of which Quebecers seem to approve, although it does not give workers any more share in the product of their labor or solve the problems which necessitate equalization payments in the first place (that is, internal colonialism). However, it is understood that if Quebec were to pursue sovereignty, this essentially "foreign" aid would be lost altogether. This and other considerations weigh heavily in the current electoral decisions of Quebecers. Thus in 1980 a last minute federal promise to both strengthen federal responsibility for Quebec while recognizing certain ethnic rights (especially French language rights) led to an electoral turnabout and the defeat of a referendum which polls indicated would pass. That referendum proposal by the Parti Quebecois government (Quebec Government 1979) would have authorized the initiation of negotiations for Quebec political sovereignty from Canada.

However, following the collapse of the national conference for rewriting the constitution in late 1980, and following 1981 threats that the federal government would have to cut equalization payments because of the economic crisis, Quebecers voted more heavily than ever for the Parti Quebecois government in 1981 provincial elections. How the recent adoption of Canada's first constitution (written by the federal government and adopted by the English-speaking provinces without the agreement of the Quebec government) will affect the Quebec national movement is yet to be seen. But the dissatisfaction of the Parti Quebecois rank-and-file with a federal constitution which they believe shows contempt for the national interests of

Quebec is already evident: at the December, 1981, Parti Quebecois convention, party members voted to alter their program for combined political sovereignty and economic association with English Canada (called sovereignty-association) by dropping altogether the concept of economic association (Thomas 1981).

ETHNIC-NATIONALISM IN THE U.S. SOUTH

The case of the United States South in the post World War Two period is another excellent illustration of the rise and development of a nationalist movement in a multi-national state.

Before the war the South clearly constituted a labor market distinct from the rest of the country, but in terms of its own internal division of labor, its "national" development remained restricted and conditional, limited by its mostly rural and non-mechanized agricultural economy and the relative lack of industrialization. In short, the South became underdeveloped on the basis of its U.K.-financed cotton export economy in the early 1800s and remained underdeveloped following its conquest by the North in the Civil War. The South could not even generate the wealth to sustain a level of social services commensurate with the rest of the country, a fact which made the South an especially heavy burden for the rest of the country during the Great Depression. In fact it was such a drain on the country's resources that President Franklin D. Roosevelt named it the United States' number one problem (Zucker 1945: 877).

The National Emergency Council's proposed solution to this problem was the industrialization of the South, and numerous studies were made of how to accomplish this (Vance 1935; Odum

1936; Van Sickle 1943; and Hoover and Ratchford 1951). But while the pre-war contraction made industrialization of the South of paramount economic importance, the contraction also made further industrial expansion virtually impossible. Only in the course of the war itself did the internal colonial South experience some incipient industrialization for military purposes (Perlo 1953: 114).

Ultimately it was post-war changes in the position of the United States in the international market which provided favorable circumstances for the industrialization of the South. On one hand the European economies were ruined and temporarily out of competition, while on the other hand the decolonization process had begun to open up new world markets for the United States. Thus the opportunity for economic expansion was seized, and the South was made the focus for new industrialization in the United States (Sale 1976). It was at this point that the mechanical cotton picker was introduced extensively in the South, resulting in the transformation of hundreds of thousands of sharescroppers--both black and white--from agricultural workers into potential industrial workers (Perlo 1953: 111; Alexandersson 1967: 85n).

The planned industrialization of the South presented an unparalleled opportunity for economic advancement for black and white alike, except that in the South segregation was still the law of the land in the 1950s. This social fact alone stood in the way of any major investment commitments in the South, for few corporations thought it economical to develop production on a segregated basis because of the duplication of facilities it

might entail.11 Thus the agricultural "segregation forever" policy of the conservative Southern Democrats was a roadblock to both the interests of financial capital and the aspirations of labor, both black and white.

Also, out of international considerations the federal government was compelled to take a militant stand against segregationist policies. This was because the United States did not want domestic social policy to adversely affect its relations with and influence over the new nations of the world (President's Commission on Civil Rights 1947): in a message to Congress outlining the need for a new system of civil rights in the United States, President Truman (1948) said, "The position of the United States in the world today makes it especially urgent that we adopt these [civil rights] measures..." If industrialization of the South had been pursued on a segregated basis, the United States could have become isolated from the very markets the "new" South was in part meant to serve.

Thus as an ethnic-nationalist movement began to unfold in the South in the form of the Civil Rights Movement (first among blacks and then among whites who saw segregation as an economic hindrance to their futures), the federal government and the northern Democratic Party in particular concluded that this movement had to be accomodated up to a point, that is, by extending certain social and political rights to the Southern people as a whole. In this regard there was an apparent conformity between the goals of the federal government and nationalist movement itself, and integration into the mainstream

of American social and political life became the theme of the ethnic-nationalist movement in the South.12

But contradictions continued in the economic sphere. The social desegregation process did not signal the end of the operation of a separate labor market in the South, mainly because of the provisions of Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act of 1947 (Hartley 1948) which in a real sense was a necessary complement to the government's desegregation policy. Whereas before the war the labor market in the South was kept depressed through legal social segregation, now the passage of state "right-to-work" laws have effectively accomplished the same end by restricting the organized labor movement in the South, thus maintaining a significant North/South wage differential. Any further development of the nationalist movement in the South will likely form around opposition to this internal colonial condition and will likely be led by industrial as opposed as displaced agricultural workers.

SOME CONCLUSIONS

What has been argued and illustrated here is that the differntial operation of labor markets (internal colonialism) within Western multi-national states provides an objective, that is, necessary but not sufficient, basis for the development of ethnic-nationalist movements. Only in the post-war period were the possibilities for a major expansion of world commodity production and exchange (due to decolonization) so great as to cause these former reserve areas in the major industrial countries to be rapidly industrialized.

It has been in the course of this industrialization that the subjective identity of "regional" populations as nationalities has begun to mature. However, these ethnic-nationalist movements have expressed a range of programmatic objectives which appear to vary in accordance with the perceived conformity or contradiction of state policy with the interests of each nationality. But so long as the differential operation of labor markets is maintained, no amount of state cooptation can eliminate the real potential for further development of ethnic-nationalism in the West.

Finally, one of the foci of cultural anthropology has been the analysis of social relations fundamental to the different forms of community which have appeared in human history. In the Western community of nations the most basic social relationship is that between labor and capital, a relationship which lies at the heart of national distinctions themselves. Anthropologists can play a major theoretical role in detailing the source and dynamics of national movements in the industrial West and thereby open up and add to discussion about resolving national inequalities based in social inequalities.

NOTES

1. The legacy of this period includes Mead's own studies of national character (1942, 1951a, 1953), cross-cultural communications techniques (1947, 1948), and of the Soviet people (1951b, 1951c), as well as research sponsored by the Office of Naval Research (1951d, Mead and Metraux 1953; see also Metraux 1951). Also notable from this period were Bateson's (1942) essay on national character and morale, Gorer's series of works on the culture and personality of the Japanese (1943), Americans (1948), Great Russians (1949, Gorer and Rickman 1949), and the British (1950).

2. The focus of national development today is clearly in the Mideast, where nationalism has become a major factor in regional and international political-economic relations (Amin 1978, 1980).

3. Other movements include the Acadian and Cajun revivals in the United States and Canada, the Samish movement in Norway, the Breton, Alsatian, Corsican and Occitanic movements in France, the "Questione Meridionale" in Italy, and some similar tendencies in Bavaria in the FRG. Regional underdevelopment in southern Italy and central and southwestern France are major problems for not only Italy and France but the European Economic Community as a whole (Barzanti 1965).

4. See Eisenstadt 1964; Pi-Sunyer 1971; Hechter 1971, 1975, 1976; Enloe 1973; van den Berghe 1973, 1976; Fallers 1974; DeVos 1975; Wolpe 1975; Brass 1976; and Foster 1980. Out of political interest in this developing phenomenon, Soviet theoreticians have taken up the subject as well, including Kolpakov and Soroko-

Tsyupa 1974; Fedoseyev 1977: 446-461; World Marxist Review 1980; Bogina et al. 1981; and Nitoburg 1981.

5. In other words, every aspect of society becomes permeated with the character of the mode of production (note that the United States even has a national Christmas tree!). The oft-heard criticism that such a "laundry-list" of national features is merely the worst sort of empiricism (Davis 1978: 71-72) ignores the fact that each particular feature represents the concrete form of different abstract elements typical of basis and superstructure in any social formation.

6. The results of World War One, the Irish Rebellion of 1916, and the Russian Revolution dramatically changed the configuration of multinational states in Europe through the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian, German and Russian empires, Irish independence, and also, for example, the annexation of Alsace by France.

7. What distinguishes a colonial relationship is not whether a country is limited to producing raw materials instead of manufactured commodities, but whether the value added by labor in either process accrues primarily to financial interests external to the colonial market (Woddis 1972).

8. It should be noted that in the modern period "The disparities in per capita income between the different regions of the national states reach the proportion of 5:1 in France, 4:1 in Italy, and only 2:1 in West Germany" (Barzanti 1965: 81). As a consequence, a certain amount of work has been put into regional studies to solve national problems of regional integration

(Lindberg and Scheingold 1971).

9. In fact, post World War Two revolutions beginning with China in 1949 up to Nicaragua today demonstrate that national movements can also be led by a peasantry and/or working class--representing their particular interests as the general interest (Marx and Engels 1976: 52-53)--and not just by a petit bourgeois elite.

10. Some so-called nationalist movements might actually be declassified as such if it can be shown that there is no objective basis for regarding them as "national" in character, while other objectively differentiated nationalities lacking a subjective program of action could be identified as proto-national movements in the dynamic sense described by Brass (1976: 226-227) or Singer (1962).

11. Black/white segregation for increasing labor competition and keeping down wages was feasible in a family-based sharecropping production system. Industrial production requires the merging of large numbers of workers at the point of production and poses the problem of desegregation in an equally black and white population. This was essentially a different problem than that in South Africa where the working population is virtually all black, thus not even posing the problem of integrating equally significant white and black labor forces. Thus industrialization there has been carried out on a segregated basis.

12. Some overtly separatist programs were espoused in the South (for example, by Stokely Carmichael and also by the Republic of New Africa movement), but these were not thoroughly

national in character in that they did not encompass black and white labor. Neither were they able to flourish under conditions of coincident federal policy and black petit bourgeois interests.

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